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DOS Review Completed.

**T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 281245Z OCT 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER)**  
SECTION 1 OF 2

FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 0240 IMMEDIATE  
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER  
1. AT 2000 TONIGHT, NHA SENT ME THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT ENTITLED  
"MEMORANDUM RE RADIO HANOI'S BROADCAST ON OCTOBER 26, 72  
AND DR. KISSINGER'S PRESS BRIEFING ON OCTOBER 26, 72".  
BEGIN TEXT:

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

I MEMORANDUM RE RADIO HANOI'S BROADCAST ON  
OCTOBER 26, 72 AND DR. KISSINGER'S PRESS BRIEFING  
ON OCTOBER 26, 72

IN THE LIGHT OF DETAILS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT REVEALED  
BY NORTH VIET NAM IN A BROADCAST BY RADIO HANOI AT 13:00 ON  
OCTOBER 26, 72 (HANOI TIME) AND SOME STATEMENTS BY DR. KISSINGER  
IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AT 11:00 ON OCTOBER 26, 72 (WASHINGTON  
TIME), THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM RAISES THE  
FOLLOWING POINTS:

1. - WE ARE VERY SURPRISED BY THE SCHEDULES AS DISCLOSED BY HANOI  
ACCORDING TO WHICH:

- A) ON OCTOBER 9, 72 THE UNITED STATES HAD PROPOSED AND  
AGREED TO STOP THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NVN ON 18, 72,  
THE TWO SIDES WILL PARAFER THE AGREEMENT IN HANOI ON  
OCTOBER 19, 72, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE U.S.  
AND NVN WILL OFFICIALLY SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON OCTOBER  
26, 72 IN PARIS.
- B) ON OCTOBER 11, 72 THE US HOWEVER HAD PROPOSED TO CHANGE  
THE SCHEDULE AS FOLLOWS:
  - THE US WILL STOP THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NVN ON  
OCTOBER 21, 72.
  - THE TWO SIDES WILL PARAFER THE AGREEMENT IN HANOI ON  
OCTOBER 22, 72.
  - THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE US AND NVN WILL OFFICIALLY  
SIGN THE AGREEMENT IN PARIS ON OCTOBER 30, 72.
- C) ON OCTOBER 20, 72 THE US AGAIN PROPOSED TO CHANGE  
THE SCHEDULE AS FOLLOWS:
  - THE US WILL STOP THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NVN ON  
OCTOBER 23, 72
  - THE TWO SIDES WILL PARAFER THE AGREEMENT IN HANOI  
ON OCTOBER 24, 72
  - THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE US AND NVN WILL  
OFFICIALLY SIGN THE AGREEMENT IN PARIS ON OCTOBER  
31, 72.

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT WE KNOW OF SUCH SCHEDULES TO SIGN  
THE AGREEMENT. WE HAVE NOT BEEN ADVISED OF SUCH SCHEDULES  
WITH DR. KISSINGER WAS STILL HOLDING MEETINGS WITH THE OTHER  
SIDE IN PARIS AND WHEN HE WAS IN SAIGON.

IN THE FIRST MESSAGE CONVEYED TO PHAM VAN DONG ON OCTOBER 20, 72 PRESIDENT NIXON WELCOMED THE GOODWILL OF NVN AND REAFFIRMED THAT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT CAN BE CONSIDERED AS FINAL, BUT DID HOWEVER RAISE SOME QUESTIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WAS NOT INFORMED OF THOSE TWO LETTERS. FOR THE RECORD, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WOULD LIKE TO BE CONFIRMED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE VERACITY AS WELL AS THE CONTENT OF THOSE TWO MESSAGES.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WOULD LIKE TO HAVE  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES' COMMENTS ON THIS POINT.

A) REFERRING TO THE AGREEMENT, DR. KISSINGER SAID THAT "... WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF AN AGREEMENT NOW ARE ISSUES THAT ARE RELATIVELY LESS IMPORTANT THAN THOSE THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN SETTLED".

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**

No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/12/17 : LOC-HAK-490-8-42-3

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

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TOP SECRET SENSITIVE 281245Z OCT 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER)  
FINAL SECTION OF 2

FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 0240 IMMEDIATE  
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

B) REFERRING TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE CALLED NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, DR. KISSINGER SAID THAT "... WE DO NOT CONSIDER THIS A COALITION GOVERNMENT AND WE BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT THIEU WAS SPEAKING ABOUT PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF A COMMUNIST PLAN AND NOT ABOUT THIS VERSION OF THE COMMUNIST PLAN". DR. KISSINGER SAID FURTHERMORE THAT "... WE DO NOT SEE IT AS ANYTHING COMPARABLE TO A COALITION GOVERNMENT" AND THAT "... WE VIEW IT AS AN INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE ELECTION COMMISSION THAT WE PROPOSED ON JANUARY 25, 72".

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WISHES TO MAKE CLEAR THAT, IN THE DISCUSSIONS IN SAIGON, THE GVN HAD RAISED A NUMBER OF PRELIMINARY POINTS IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. DR. KISSINGER THEN THOUGHT THAT SOME POINTS COULD BE ACCOMMODATED WHILE SOME OTHER IMPORTANT POINTS ARE DIFFICULT TO ACCOMMODATE. FURTHERMORE, WE HAVE NOT AGREED ON THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES, NAMELY

- A) THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS MUST WITHDRAW TO NVN
- B) THE DMZ SHOULD BE DEFINED CLEARLY
- C) THE POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SVN SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO DECIDE BY THEMSELVES, AND NOT IMPOSED THROUGH AN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE CALLED NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WITH THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS AND WITH THE PREROGATIVES AND TASKS OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT.

SO, THERE REMAIN MANY IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED, AND THAT THOSE PROBLEMS ARE NOT MERELY "LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS".

ON THE PARTICULAR ISSUE OF THE COUNCIL, EVEN HANOI DISCLOSED IT AS A STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT, WITH FULL POWERS OF A GOVERNMENT AND NOT A "LITTLE COUNCIL OF NO SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE" AS DR.

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SSINGER HAD COMMENTED9

IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM HAS REJECTED THE WORDS "ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE", "3 EQUAL COMPONENTS" AS WELL AS THE PREROGATIVES AND THE TASKS OF THIS COUNCIL TO ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTION.

IN REJECTING IT AS A DISGUISED COALITION GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU WAS SPEAKING ABOUT THIS SPECIFIC COUNCIL IN THE AGREEMENT AND NOT ABOUT PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF A COMMUNIST PLAN.

THEREFORE, IN THE LIGHT OF DR. KISSINGER'S AMBIGUOUS STATEMENTS, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM, MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ELABORATED AND AGREED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM ON THE PRELIMINARY POINTS RAISED BY THE GVN WHICH DR. KISSINGER THOUGHT COULD BE ACCOMMODATED.

FURTHERMORE AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THERE ARE STILL MANY BASIC PRINCIPLES AND NOT "LINGUISTIC PROBLEM" TO BE SOLVED BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

END TEXT.

2. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY AN ELABORATION OF SOME OF THE POINTS THIEU RAISED WITH ME THIS MORNING, AS REPORTED IN MY 0239. IT IS CLEAR THAT THIEU SEEMS TO BE OBSESSED WITH THE IDEA THAT THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD IS A DISGUISED COALITION GOVERNMENT. GIVEN HIS SUSPICIOUS NATURE AND DISTRUST OF THE COMMUNISTS, I THINK HE MAY FEEL THAT THE DIFFERENCE IN WORDING BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND VIETNAMESE TEXTS MAY BE A JS

DELIBERATE

PORT OF DECEPTION ON THE PART OF THE COMMUNISTS. I HAVE TRIED TO POINT OUT TO HIM REPEATEDLY THAT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CNRC, AS SPELLED OUT IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, ARE NOT IN ANY SENSE GOVERNMENTAL, BUT APPARENTLY SO FAR WITHOUT EFFECT. I HAVE, OF COURSE, ASSURED HIM THIS IS A MATTER WHICH YOU WILL BE TAKING UP WITH THE OTHER SIDE.

3. WARM REGARDS.

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